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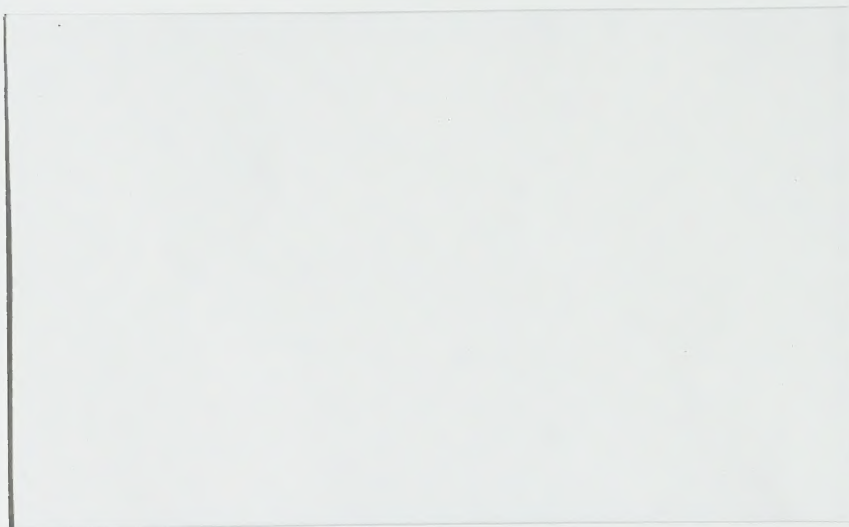
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**THE CONSTITUENCY ASSEMBLY OF
HAMILTON-WENTWORTH AND THE
PROSPECTS FOR CITIZEN PARTICIPATION IN
MUNICIPAL REFORM ***
Current Issue Paper # 183



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INTRODUCTION

Constituent assemblies have traditionally been used to provide public input into the creation, revision or ratification of a country's constitution and have usually been composed of existing elected representatives, specially-elected or -appointed delegates, and/or citizen delegates.¹ Perhaps the most famous constituent assembly was the Philadelphia Convention which drafted the American constitution in 1787. Canada has a history of constituent assemblies as well: Confederation was the product of the work of three assemblies composed of representatives of the various colonial governments of the time, and the terms of Newfoundland's entry into Confederation were established by an assembly.

In more recent years, constituent assemblies have been discussed in response to dissatisfaction with public input into government decision-making, including municipal government decision-making. In February 1995, the Chair of the Hamilton-Wentworth Regional Council announced the creation of a constituent assembly to review and make recommendations to improve municipal government in the region. A year of deliberations and 12,000 hours of public consultation later, the Constituent Assembly on the Municipal Government System in Hamilton-Wentworth (CAHW) issued a final report which recommended the abolition of the existing two-tier regional government and the creation of a unified, single-tier system. After another nine months of often rancorous debate, a majority of municipalities in the Hamilton-Wentworth region announced their support of a reform package based on the CAHW recommendations, which, shortly thereafter, the provincial government promised to enact in legislation by April 1, 1997.

This Current Issue Paper examines the structure and operations of the CAHW in order to assess its appropriateness as a model for citizen participation in other local decision-making processes. It begins by placing the CAHW in the context of regional government reform in the Hamilton-Wentworth area. It then examines the CAHW's structure and operations, including its mandate, method of consultation, and recommendations. The ensuing debate over municipal reform, which culminated in the province's decision to create a single-tier municipal system, is outlined next. The Paper concludes by drawing some lessons from the CAHW experience for using constituent assemblies in other local decision-making processes.

GOVERNING HAMILTON-WENTWORTH

Debate over municipal governance in the Hamilton-Wentworth region is not new. In the first twenty years following the Second World War, the population of the City of Hamilton and Wentworth County more than doubled

and the traditional urban-rural boundaries in place since the nineteenth century began to blur. One result of this growth was strain on local services and infrastructure, which in turn created demands for a review of municipal government in the area. Similar demographic pressures across southern and eastern Ontario prompted the provincial government to undertake a series of municipal government reviews, beginning with the Royal Commission on Metropolitan Toronto in 1963, the Ottawa-Carleton Local Government Review Commission in 1964, and the Ontario Tax Commission in 1966.²

The recommendations of these reviews prompted the provincial government to develop a local government reform policy which attempted to balance the efficient delivery of services with effective local representation. The result was the creation of 10 regional governments by 1974, including the Regional Municipality of Hamilton-Wentworth.

In 1974, the Cities of Hamilton and Stoney Creek, the Towns of Dundas, Flamborough and Ancaster, and the Township of Glanbrook ceded responsibilities over waste management, land use planning, economic development, public transit, disaster and emergency planning, general welfare assistance, public health, and some roads, parks and recreation services to the new Regional Municipality of Hamilton-Wentworth. The Regional Council is composed of 28 members, which includes a chair (elected by general vote in the region after 1988), the mayor of each of the six municipalities, 16 elected members of the City of Hamilton council, and one member from each of the other 5 municipal councils.³

At the time of its creation, opponents of the regional government were divided into two camps: rural and suburban opponents charged that the province had forced the rural and suburban areas to give up control over key local services to Hamilton councilors.⁴ Opponents from Hamilton argued that the regional government was an unnecessary duplication of bureaucracy and that a single, region-wide government ought to replace the two-tiered system.⁵

By 1977, opposition was sufficient to prompt the provincial government to appoint a special commission (the Stewart Commission) to investigate the organization, administration and functioning of the three year old municipal system. In 1978, the Stewart Commission reported that the two-tier regional government was not working in the best interests of the public and recommended that the lower-tier (i.e., the six municipal councils) be abolished and replaced by a single-tiered government. It recommended that this new structure be called the City of Wentworth.⁶ The provincial government did not adopt these highly contentious recommendations.

The Stewart Commission's recommendations raised the level of debate over regional government to new heights. Shortly after the final report was submitted, the City of Hamilton held a plebiscite on a proposal to reform the regional system along the lines recommended by Stewart or secede from the regional government altogether if such reforms were not adopted. Eighty percent of Hamilton voters supported the proposal.⁷ A similar motion before City Council passed 14-5.⁸ In the wake of the Hamilton plebiscite, local councils in Dundas, Stoney Creek and Flamborough debated - but did not pass - motions to secede from the regional government themselves.⁹

In the early 1980s, the Hamilton-Wentworth region experienced one of the worst economic recessions in its history. The effect of the recession, combined with the provincial government's reluctance to alter the regional government, served to quell debate over regional government reform until the 1990s.¹⁰

In 1990, the Regional Chairman's Task Force on Sustainable Development expressed concern over the structure of local and regional government in the region and made the following recommendation:

Establish a community working group to examine alternative political structures (i.e., one tier municipal government, directly elected Regional politicians) which would provide incentives for bringing broad, long range perspectives to decision making.¹¹

Regional government reform became a central issue in the 1994 municipal election. Terry Cooke, who was elected Chair of the Regional Government in that election, campaigned on the promise to make government in the region more efficient by eliminating the existing two-tier system and replacing it with a single-tier government.¹² While the single-tier model was Cooke's personal preference, he promised to create a constituent assembly composed of representatives from all six municipalities to make recommendations on municipal reform.¹³

THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF HAMILTON-WENTWORTH

Mandate

The Constituent Assembly on the Municipal Government System in Hamilton-Wentworth (CAHW) was established in February 1995 "with a mandate to involve the community in a region-wide discussion on the role and structure of municipal government and manner of service delivery for the

purpose of ensuring a high quality of life for citizens of Hamilton-Wentworth.”¹⁴ The specific goals of the Assembly were to:

- ensure the community is involved in the work of the Constituent Assembly;
- examine the existing municipal government system, including the manner of public service delivery, within the Region of Hamilton-Wentworth;
- evaluate whether change to the existing system and manner of service delivery is necessary, and, if so, what practical options exist to provide for such change; and
- provide recommendations to the Regional Council, through the Administrative Services Committee, on the most appropriate municipal government system and manner of public service delivery in the Region of Hamilton-Wentworth.

The CAHW was instructed to review and make recommendations on all services provided at the local and regional levels, including land use planning, parks and recreation, transportation, and the political structures used to govern them. The Assembly’s budget was approved at \$500,000, \$250,000 of which was provided by the provincial government.¹⁵

Structure

The Assembly was composed of twenty-three “citizen representatives,” two of whom were appointed as co-chairs by Regional Chair Terry Cooke.¹⁶ Six of the citizen representatives were nominated by each of the local municipal councils. The remaining fifteen representatives were chosen by Cooke and the two co-chairs according to the following criteria:

- proven commitment through effective involvement in an organization(s) directly concerned with defined sectors of interest;
- the ability to reflect a sector of interest within the community while remaining oriented towards the community as a whole;
- the willingness and ability to liaise with the full range of specific interest groups, agencies or organizations within the broad sector represented; and
- a commitment to work towards a consensus with the Constituent Assembly to develop a system of local government which will serve all interests in the community.¹⁷

In all, over 80 residents from the Hamilton-Wentworth region applied or were nominated for positions on the Assembly.¹⁸

Consultation

The CAHW began its work with a three-phase consultation process designed to solicit the public's ideas on the roles and functions of municipal government. During the first phase, nine small advisory groups, composed of both citizen volunteers and stakeholders who were direct or indirect service providers, examined particular service areas outlined in the CAHW's mandate. During the second phase, 18 focus groups were used to acquire descriptive information about citizens' experiences and opinions. The third phase of the consultation process involved an extensive telephone survey to augment the information received from the first and second phases. In all, over 1,500 citizens in the region were consulted. In December 1995, the CAHW produced an interim report which outlined the findings of the consultation process.

Options

In January 1996, the CAHW released an Options Discussion Paper which set out three options for municipal government reform based on the views and opinions received during the consultation stage. The options presented were:

- one regional municipal government and no local government;
- a rationalized and reformed two-tier system; or
- six local governments and no regional government.

The following tables illustrate the CAHW's alternatives for organizing service delivery and representation in each of the three options.

Table One: Options for Service Delivery

Type of Service	The Existing System	Option #1: One Regional Government	Option #2: A Reformed Two-tier Government	Option #3: Six Local Governments
Environment i) waste management ii) water services	Regional, with local waste collection	Merged into a new regional Infrastructure Services Branch	Merged into a new regional Infrastructure Services Branch except for: ii) local	i) shared with a regional services co-ordinating body ii) shared with a regional services co-ordinating body Local iii) shared with a regional services co-ordinating body Local
Planning and Economic Development i) land use planning ii) development control iii) economic development	i) regional ii) local iii) regional			
Transportation i) roads ii) transit	i) regional/local shared ii) regional			
Protection to Persons and Property i) fire ii) police iii) disaster and emergency planning iv) ambulance v) by-law enforcement	i) local ii) regional iii) regional iv) provincial v) regional/local shared	Reorganised as a new regional Protective Services Branch	Reorganised as a new regional Protective Services Branch	Local
Health i) public health programmes	Regional	Merged into a new regional Human Services Branch	Merged into a new regional Human Services Branch	Local
Social Services i) general welfare assistance	Regional		Local	Local
Recreation and Culture i) parks, recreation and culture programmes/services ii) regional parks, tourism	i) local ii) regional			Local ii) shared with a regional services co-ordinating body
Public Information and Consultation	Services provided by Clerk at regional and local levels	Services provided by Clerk at regional level	Services provided by Clerk at regional and local levels	Services provided by Clerk
General Government i) finance, legal, human resources, purchasing ii) Clerk functions (elections, freedom of information)	Regional/local shared	Reorganised as regional Corporate Services Branch	Reorganised as a regional Corporate Services Branch except for: ii) Clerk functions: Regional/local shared	Local i) finance shared with a regional services co-ordinating body

Table Two: Options for Representation

	Existing Form	Option #1	Option #2	Option #3
Elected Bodies Local Regional	6 local municipal councils 1 regional municipal council	No local municipal councils 1 Municipal Assembly	6 local municipal councils 1 regional municipal council	6 local municipal councils No regional council
Number of Representatives	58	Maximum 20 members based on an average 20,000 to 30,000 citizens per representative; One Chair	65	58
Form of Election Local Regional	Local councillors elected directly Regional Chair elected directly; 27 regional councillors elected directly; 5 regional councillors sit at both local and regional municipal councils; 6 Mayors sit at both local and regional municipal councils; 16 Hamilton councillors sit at both local and regional municipal councils	N/A Elected directly	Mayors and local municipal councillors elected directly 1 Regional Chair elected directly; 7 regional Councillors elected directly	Mayor and local councillors elected directly N/A
Boundaries of Representation Local Regional	32 wards within local municipalities; electoral boundaries vary by municipality; Mayors and Deputy Mayors elected directly. 6 mayors and 5 Regional Councillors elected at-large; 1 Regional Chair elected directly; 16 Councillors elected directly in 8 wards within City of Hamilton.	N/A Municipal Assembly Members elected in 20 new regional ridings; Assembly Chair elected directly	6 Mayors elected directly; 52 Councillors elected using existing electoral boundaries Regional councillors elected in 7 new regional wards	6 Mayors directly elected; 52 Councillors elected using existing electoral boundaries N/A
Terms of Office	3 years; no limit on terms	3 year term; 2 consecutive terms maximum	3 years; 2 consecutive terms maximum	3 year term, staggered annually by ward; 2 consecutive terms maximum
Method of Council Voting	One vote for each member of council	One vote for each Assembly member	One vote for each council member	One vote for each council member
Remuneration Local Regional	Part-time, part-paid Part-time, part-paid	N/A Full-time, full paid	Small honorarium; some expenses paid Part-time, part-paid	Per diem meeting stipend N/A

Final Report

On 31 March 1996, after two months of public consultation on these options, the CAHW submitted its final report to the Hamilton-Wentworth Regional Council. The report's most important recommendation was to abolish the existing two-tier regional government system and replace it with a single, unified municipal council and administration.¹⁹ It argued this would improve public accountability and the long-term planning and priority-setting capacity of the municipal government system. The report also estimated that a single-tier system of government would generate annual savings between \$110 and \$220 million, or roughly 15 to 30 percent of the total operating budgets for all municipal governments in the Hamilton-Wentworth region.²⁰

The unified municipal government model, recommended in the CAHW's final report, is a modification of Option #1 put forward in January 1996. First, the Council in the unified model would have a maximum of 30 elected councilors elected in new wards established on boundaries defined by "communities of interest." Option #1, by contrast, recommended a Council with no more than 20 elected members.

Community consultation and participation is also different. In the unified model, a Neighborhood Committee would be created in each ward of the region. Each Committee would be composed of the ward's Municipal councilor and at least two other community members elected or nominated at large. The Neighborhood Committees would be responsible for representing community views to Council, making decisions on locally-specific issues, and providing a formal avenue for citizen participation and consultation in municipal government. In function, Neighborhood Committees would effectively displace the existing lower-tier councils. In Option #1, community consultation and participation was to be facilitated through Citizen Advisory Groups (CAGs), which were to report indirectly to Council through the Office of Public Information and Consultation (OPTIC).

The organization of municipal services in the unified model is similar to that contemplated in the Option #1 model, except that Corporate Services is called Corporate and Information Services and general management and administration responsibilities are consolidated in a new Chief Administrative Office. The unified model also contemplates the creation of Community Offices in each ward to serve as local access points to municipal government information, communications, and services dealing with such things as property, community recreation, welfare, licences, permits, inspections, development applications and by-law enforcement. These "one-stop-shopping" Municipal Offices would feature:

- an Office Administrator responsible for coordinating all services provided through the community office;
- new information technologies to link community offices with other municipal offices and departments; and
- staff with expertise in the service needs of that particular community.²¹

Debate and Response

Public response to the CAHW's recommendations has mirrored the historical divisions on regional government reform in the Hamilton-Wentworth region.²² Hamilton Mayor Bob Morrow described the CAHW's recommendations as "a superb launching pad" toward reforming the region's government.²³ At the same time, however, Mayor Morrow and other Hamilton councilors were quick to demand that Hamilton have a majority of representatives on any new regional Council.²⁴ Ancaster, Dundas, Flamborough, Glanbrook and Stoney Creek representatives countered that they were willing to support only those reform efforts which seek to strengthen existing local municipal councils and limit regional jurisdiction in selected areas. To this end, the Mayors of the four jurisdictions announced that they would share the cost of having the CAHW's report independently assessed by a consultant in order to develop "an important counterbalance to the main assembly report."²⁵

On April 6, Ontario's Minister for Municipal Affairs and Housing Al Leach made his first public comment on the CAHW's final report. He said that "if Hamilton-Wentworth councilors can't decide on a new model of local government, the province will not impose one... [Regional Councilors] have two choices. They change or they stay the same. If they can't agree to change, then the status quo will remain the same."²⁶

On July 6, the Hamilton-Wentworth Regional Council debated the issue of regional reform. The debate was organized around three motions, the first of which sought to replace the existing local governments with neighborhood councils as a first step toward creating a single-tier government for the region, as recommended by the CAHW.²⁷ Council defeated this motion 20 to 7. A second motion, put forward by the City of Hamilton, sought to create a regional "supercity" by abolishing the existing regional government, amalgamating the regional tax base, and having Hamilton annex Ancaster, Dundas, Flamborough, Glanbrook and Stoney Creek.²⁸ The non-City municipalities put forward a third motion which sought to circumscribe the powers of the regional government and devolve a number of responsibilities to the local councils. Council defeated the second and third motions as well. As a compromise, however, Council did agree to establish three committees to study the following issues over the course of the summer:

- the implications of amalgamating the regional tax base;

- the structure of a reformed regional government; and
- how to improve the delivery of services across the region.²⁹

In late August, Council began debating the reports of the Committees in an effort to find points of consensus.³⁰ By the end of September, Terry Cooke had compiled a list of possible facilitators to help Council come to an agreement. Council's exploration of these issues was interrupted on October 1 when eight Hamilton Regional Councilors voted with the nine non-City Councilors on a motion to abolish the Regional Government and have the City of Hamilton supply central services to the other five municipalities on a contract basis.³¹ After the Mayor of Hamilton and the remaining Hamilton Councilors vehemently opposed such a proposal, Council requested that the Minister of Municipal Affairs and Housing, Al Leach, appoint a professional mediator to resolve the reform impasse.³²

On November 8, 1996, mediator Gardner Church announced that a reform package had been agreed to by Terry Cooke, the Regional Chair, and representatives from Hamilton, Stoney Creek, Ancaster, and Glanbrook.³³ Details of the package included:

- a single, unified municipality and administrative structure for the Hamilton-Wentworth area;
- a single taxing and priority-setting authority to manage the property tax base, including school boards, municipalities, police commissions and other special purpose bodies; and
- Council representation based on the following:
 - 1 Mayor elected at large;
 - 2 Councilors from Glanbrook;
 - 2 Councilors from Dundas;
 - 3 Councilors from Ancaster;
 - 3 Councilors from Flamborough;
 - 6 Councilors from Stoney Creek;
 - 5 Councilors from Hamilton West;
 - 5 Councilors from Hamilton East; and
 - 6 Councilors from Hamilton Mountain.³⁴

With the support of two-thirds of the region's municipalities representing more than 85 percent of the population, Gardner Church said he would recommend that Minister Leach adopt the package in legislation. Dundas and Flamborough representatives did not support the package on the grounds that their communities were not adequately represented. The City of Hamilton gave their approval to the reform package contingent upon an increased number of representatives for the City from the agreed-upon 16.

On December 17, Municipal Affairs and Housing Minister Al Leach announced that the Government of Ontario would proceed with reform of the Hamilton-Wentworth region along the lines proposed in the November 8 agreement after Parliamentary Assistant Ernie Hardeman resolved outstanding concerns related to the proposed boundaries and the system of representation of the new city.³⁵ Hardeman must report to the Minister by the end of January so the election process for the new one-tier government can begin in 1997.

THE CAHW: A MODEL FOR CITIZEN PARTICIPATION?

The Constituency Assembly on the Municipal Government System in Hamilton-Wentworth (CAHW) was established to provide citizens with a forum to debate and make proposals about the future of municipal governance in the region. The hundreds of hours of consultation and media coverage documented in this paper are testament to the CAHW's role in generating and focusing public debate on municipal reform. In this respect, the CAHW must be considered a success and a good model for other municipalities to copy when trying to focus public discussion on local issues, and in particular municipal reform.

Was the CAHW successful in influencing the course of debate engaged in by municipal governments in the Hamilton-Wentworth region? Initially, the CAHW appeared to have little influence: On July 6, the Regional Council defeated a motion to replace lower-tier governments with neighborhood councils as a prelude to creating the single-tier government recommended by the CAHW. By the fall, however, it began to appear that the single-tier option favoured by the CAHW represented a reform which a large majority of municipalities could agree to. The consensus reached by mediator Gardner Church confirmed the popularity of this option. So while the CAHW's recommendations may not have directly influenced the course of debate over reform in the Hamilton-Wentworth region, it certainly provided an early indication of where consensus could be reached. In this respect, the CAHW must be gauged a success.

NOTES

¹ See, in general, Patrick Fafard and Darell R. Reid, *Constituent Assemblies: A Comparative Survey* (Kingston: Institute of Intergovernmental Relations, 1991); and Patrick Monahan, Lynda Covello and Jonathan Batty, *Constituent Assemblies: The Canadian Debate in Comparative and Historical Context* (North York: York University Centre for Public Law and Public Policy, 1992).

² See, in general, C.R. Tindal, *Structural Changes in Local Government: Government for Urban Regions* (Toronto: The Institute of Public Administration of Canada, 1977); Andrew Sancton, *Local Government Reorganization in Canada Since 1975* (Toronto: ICURR Press, 1991); and C.Richard Tindal and Susan Nobes Tindal, *Local Government In Canada*, 4th Edition (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, 1995).

³ *Regional Municipality of Hamilton Wentworth Act*, R.S.O. c.R12, s. 5.

⁴ Editorial, "The Regional Reality," *The Hamilton Spectator*, 20 November 1979.

⁵ Kevin Marron, "Bickering Hurting Hamilton Area, Politicians Agree," *Globe and Mail*, 20 February 1980.

⁶ Ontario, The Hamilton-Wentworth Review Commission, *Final Report* (Toronto: The Commission, 1978).

⁷ "The Region Stays Intact, Wells Tells Hamilton," *The Spectator*, 11 September 1980.

⁸ "Hamilton Votes 14-5 to Leave the Region," *Toronto Star*, 10 September 1980.

⁹ Marron, "Bickering Hurting Hamilton Area."

¹⁰ Gordon McNulty, "Wells Plays it Tight on Regional Changes," *The Spectator*, 18 October 1980.

¹¹ Regional Municipality of Hamilton-Wentworth, Regional Chairman's Task Force on Sustainable Development, *Vision 2020: The Sustainable Region* (Hamilton: The Regional Municipality, 1992), p. 42.

¹² Jim Poling, "Cooke Pushes Reform Plan: Wasman, Granger Named to Lead Study of Regional Restructuring," *The Spectator*, 20 January 1995, p. B1.

¹³ Mike Davison, "Taking a Look at the 14-13 Vote to Move us Closer to One-tier," *The Spectator*, 10 February 1995, p. A10.

¹⁴ Terms of Reference contained in Constituent Assembly on the Municipal Government System in Hamilton-Wentworth, *Building Better Government* (Hamilton: The Assembly, 1995).

¹⁵ "News Digest," *The Hamilton Spectator*, 17 April 1995, p. B2.

¹⁶ The co-chairs were Don Granger, the former mayor of Flamborough, and Chester Waxman, a well-respected community leader and businessman in Hamilton.

¹⁷ Constituent Assembly on the Municipal Government System in Hamilton-Wentworth, *Building Better Government*, p. 3.

¹⁸ Ken Peters, "1-tier or 2-tier, Forum to Decide," *The Spectator*, 2 June 1995, p. B3.

¹⁹ The CAHW is not the first body to recommend abolishing a two-tier regional government system in Ontario. In addition to the 1978 Stewart Commission (discussed above), the Niagara Region Review Commission and the Haldimand-Norfolk Regional Review both recommended abolition of the two-tier system in their respective regions. See, in general, Ontario, Niagara Region Review Commission, *Report and Recommendations* (Toronto: Queen's Printer, 1989); and Ontario, Ministry of Municipal Affairs, Haldimand-Norfolk Regional Review, *A Reappraisal of the Regional Government Structure* (Toronto: The Ministry, 1989).

²⁰ CAHW, *Final Report*, p. 35.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p.72.

²² See, in general, Jim Poling, "Victory for Government Reform: Chairman's plan wins Narrowly in 14-13 Council Vote," *The Spectator*, 8 February 1995, p. B1; Mike Davison, "We're Seeing Political Powerlessness," *The Spectator*, 10 November 1995, p. A10; Jim Poling and Steve Arnold, "Province Won't Interfere, Leach: Decision About Region's Future in Councilor's Hands," *The Spectator*, 6 April 1996, p. B1; Steve Arnold, "20-Councilor, One-tier Option is Top Choice: Hamilton Councilors feel Shortchanged, Suburbs don't Want to Lose Independence," *The Spectator*, 2 April 1996, p. B3.

²³ Steve Arnold, "Cooke Expects 'Battle' as Reform Plan on the Table: 'A Superb Launching Pad,' Morrow Says," *The Spectator*, 4 April 1996, p. B3.

²⁴ See, in general, Steve Arnold, "'Unified Region' is Needed: Assembly's Plan Would Involve citizens, Co-chair Tells the Spec," *The Spectator*, 3 April 1996, p. B3; and Arnold, "20-councilor, One-Tier Option is Top Choice."

²⁵ The five municipalities hired Dick Tindal to conduct the assessment. See "Municipalities to Spend \$10,000 on Their Critique," *The Spectator*, 2 April 1996, p. B3.

²⁶ Poling and Arnold, "Province Won't Interfere."

²⁷ "Constituent Assembly's One-tier System is Dead," *The Spectator*, 6 July 1996, p. A1.

²⁸ For more details on Mayor Bob Morrow's "supercity" plan, see "Forum," *The Spectator*, 26 June 1996, p. A7.

²⁹ "Constituent Assembly's One-tier System is Dead." On the progress of the committees, see Rick Hughes, "Showdown for Regional Reform," *The Spectator*, 23 August 1996, p. B3.

³⁰ Rick Hughes, "Council Sidesteps Confrontation," *The Spectator*, 24 August, p. B1.

³¹ Ken Peters, "Death knell for region?" *The Spectator*, 2 October 1996, p. A1.

³² "Mediating the Gridlock," *The Spectator*, 25 October 1996, p. A12.

³³ Ken Peters, "Get set for Supercity," *The Spectator*, 9 November 1996, p. A1.

³⁴ Regional Municipality of Hamilton-Wentworth, *Press Release*, 8 November 1996.

³⁵ Ontario, Ministry of Municipal Affairs and Housing, "Single-Tier Government Set for 1997," *News Release*, 17 December 1996.

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